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T H E
R E F O R M E R.
N U M B E R I.

THE MOTIVES FOR TOLERATING THE PAPISTS, &c.
CANDIDLY DISCUSSED; THE INVETERATE AND
ABSURD CONDUCT OF OPPOSITION EXPLAINED;
SIR GEORGE SAVILE'S CHARACTER DELINE-
ATED; WITH SOME STRICTURES ON DOCTOR
KIPPIS.

T H E
R E F O R M E R.

N U M B E R I.

Fingunt quandam inter se fallaciam. T E R.

THE MINORITY in the last Sessions displayed all the arts of sophistry, to draw the Minister into *toils* and *difficulties*; but they betrayed their designs, without accomplishing the end of them. The Tolerating Motion was not the least absurd, nor the least mischievous: it had a malignant tendency; and the absurdity was, in proposing a *thesis* which ought not to be touched upon in turbulent times, but debated, only, when the mind is at peace. The present hour is ill adapted to such hazardous experiments. So like every other rash and injudicious attempt, this heterodox scheme ended to the disappointment of the MINORITY, who had no idea of its passing, nor a wish that it should pass: and it was injurious to the honour and interest of religion, as well

as alarming to every serious *flapped-bat* Parson of the *old livery*, and to every orthodox Christian in the three kingdoms.

SIR GEORGE SAVILLE is acknowledged to be a man independent in almost every circumstance of life; of an ample fortune; a liberal mind; an honest heart; of sound judgment:—but he wants, —I am sorry to announce it,—he has not intellectual pride enough to despise the little tricks that vanity sports for the amusement of little minds. Sir GEORGE wants fortitude to maintain the dignity of his real character. The clamour of popularity has confounded his organs! It has disturbed his apprehension! it has palpitated his heart! it has tremulated his nerves! it has—transformed the man!—Every *honest* heart sinks on beholding the apostate: it is only the MINORITY who smile at the welcome metamorphosis. Let us view him in his fallen state. Sir GEORGE is upright himself; yet a dupe to the most unprincipled Opposition! He is perfectly free in his own opinion; yet the arrantest slave to the factious opinions of others! He is a true-born Englishman in sentiment and generosity; yet he allies himself with the avowed enemies of his country! As a private gentleman, he is ingenuous: as a party man, he is designing! He is inimical to the most amiable characters; he is friendly to the undeserving: and, that he may not be suspected of giving countenance to any thing that

is *courtly*, he is uncivil to Ministers ; and to men in opposition to Ministers !—What an unpoetical character ! what a disagreement of parts !

*Ut nec pes, nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ.*

To charge Characters generally ; that is, to pronounce the Ministers *profligate* and *corrupt* ; or men in opposition to them, *saëtious* ; without specifying the vices or follies of either ; is adopting the weak and petulant manner so observable in the domestic enemies of this country. These supercilious gentry, with unrestrained wantonness, insult the first of those Characters to whom the courtesy of this country has given pre-eminency of rank : then make their concessions. They offend again ; and are again let off, by the lenity of the Minister. Forgiveness has no good effect upon the callous mind ; and abuse is a rooted habit. So the MINORITY, like culprits of a lower class, return to their old indecent trade again ; till growing bolder by the *connivance* or fearful connivance of Ministers, they are more daring in their attacks ! At length they become desperate : when, having reached the top of the climax, the rope puts an end to the nefarious politician, as well as the pick-pocket.—*Requiescant in pace.*

I SHALL endeavour to avoid the practice I have so unmercifully censured, by identifying the
B 2 features

features which characterize the portraits in my exhibition.

WHILST the minor Patriots in both Houses were deploring the melancholy situation of this kingdom, in language the most terrifying to some, and the least affecting to many; that, “ We
 “ were a lost country, with only *one* ray of hope;
 “ and that *single* beam was not an *emanation* from
 “ the *present* Ministry: That it required the *wis-*
 “ *dom* of the *wisest*—[leering to one side]—to con-
 “ ciliate the minds of our inveterate enemies the
 “ French, whom we have sorely offended by cor-
 “ recting them for their infidelity: That our whole
 “ attention should be employed to form a plan of
 “ moderation mean enough to pacify our incensed
 “ friends the Americans, a set of affectionate duti-
 “ ful children, whom we have most audaciously
 “ affronted in presuming to reprove them for
 “ their disobedience and ingratitude: That we
 “ should strike the English flag to their High
 “ Mightinesses, lest we should offend a nation so
 “ punctilious in all the refinements of political
 “ friendship: That it was equally necessary to de-
 “ base our ancient spirit in such a manner, that by
 “ acknowledging our weakness before men, we
 “ might appear contemptible to all the world, in the
 “ forlorn hope, that we might gain by compassion
 “ what we cannot recover by British fortitude!”

strange as this doctrine may appear, it was the
 text

text upon which the MINORITY whined in Saint Stephen's Chapel ! But our wonder will cease, when we inform ourselves, by looking over the muster-roll, that the present *Faction*, like a Turkey carpet, is patched up with the different complexions of men, who have no *likeness* to any thing existing in the *firm* and *manly* ideas of the *brave* and *undaunted* BRITON. The coward, the spendthrift, the gambler, and the taylor, form the most shewy part of the pattern.

To introduce a subject better fitted to the *recreant* souls of modern Patriots, Sir GEORGE SAVILLE drew *their* attention from the pitiable business of national humiliation ; and also the attention of the Ministry from their *old English* schemes of national resistance ; by moving the House, that toleration should be allowed to every sectary of religion dissenting from the forms and opinions of the Church of England. For as he had repeatedly heard it asserted, in the company he keeps, that we were in a most *damnable state*, it was but charitable to lend a hand towards preserving our physical concerns, as our political interest was at the last gasp : he therefore hoped to meet with the concurrence of that House to his motion of privileging all good folks to make the best terms they could with Heaven in their own way ; and that the Roman Catholics, in particular, should have the path opened to them, that those *quiet, congenial* spirits might, for the future, pass toll-free, without the least interruption !

terruption! A motion so liberal, so conscientious, could not fail of being seconded and supported by every good Christian—*on the sinister side of the House*. Mr. WILKES was particularly zealous in the pious cause; and, that it might operate on the superstitious weakness of the people, for the embellishment of this country, he hoped to see the day when *mosques, tabernacles, and temples*, would overtop the *barns, churches, and other decent* places of worship, in every city, town, and country, throughout England. Mr. WILKES was formally and critically thanked by Doctor KIPPIS and others, in a deputation from the body of Presbyterians, for the active part he took in the cause of religion; and his *zeal* was rewarded, in consequence of their *timely* address, with the lucrative post of *Chamberlain*! And so differently do we judge of mankind to what we did in *cheaster* times, that I very believe that *bonest* JOHNNY WILKES is the only man in an office of trust at this day, whose *integrity* is not suspected!

DOCTOR KIPPIS has gained much credit, as a man of sentiment; for, notwithstanding the *worst* *sinners* are most *notoriously* the *best* friends to the *clergy*, Dr. KIPPIS is the only priest who has had the generosity to avow the obligation; and I should not be surprised if his *gratitude* should hurry him on so far, as to depart from the unaffected rites of Presbyterian simplicity, and erect

an altar in the Meeting-house sacred to his best friend of all, the——DEVIL.

BUT if by expostulation from the truly pious, moderate, and unpolitical Dissenters (for many there are of that worthy and respectable cast) the Doctor should become less rigid, and subject himself to the pain of repentance for having bowed his knee to the Gods of Sedition ; he would naturally fall upon some palliative in apology for his former irregular civility. He might, perhaps, urge in his defence, that he complimented Mr. WILKES only, as one of the rank and file who mustered in behalf of religious freedom ; and that the measure of his service required a portion of thanks.—No doubt of it. Gratitude is an amiable affection : the mind cannot produce one more lovely. But what panegyric did this sentimental Divine offer at the shrine of the First Lord of the Treasury, who was a *phalanx* in their battles ? Upon the same scale of generosity, it must have been a very *extraordinary* one ! WILKES *stirred* in their cause ; but it was Lord NORTH's *acquiescence* gave them the victory. Not a single compliment from this grateful votarist ! Lord NORTH having nothing *devilish* about him, is not the *idol* which the *violent* Presbyterians bow to. These republican spirits are as unfriendly to *forms* of government, as they are to *forms* of prayer, and equally detest the *instruments* which *direct* the *line* in both. However, when a man is bending to repentance, we should accelerate the inclination :

inclination : every excuse is a kind of concession ; and whilst it yields to the imputation, it throws off the turpitude from it. If Doctor KIPPIS *has* attempted to apologize, he is not so *curfedly* complaisant as he was thought to be. Doctor KIPPIS had mistaken his talents, which accounts for his late *awkward* behaviour. He wants the most essential qualities to fashion him to a Patriot : he has too much good sense to suffer himself to be imposed upon more than once ; and too much integrity to impose upon others.

BUT what is all this to Sir GEORGE's motion ? Like most episodes, if it does not fall in with the subject, it is incidentally related to it. Writing is sometimes like walking : one exercises the mind, the other the body ; and we seldom keep to a right line in either : we generally deviate a little from the point we set out from in both. We turn aside from the subject in writing ; and I never remember to have seen a straight path trampled through a meadow. To return to the motion. The House was taken by surprize, and the question carried, contrary to the wish of those who moved it !

THE mischiefs that may revive, and the advantages which may be obtained, from religious freedom, require much investigation. Religion is too sublime a subject for every man to comment upon, as reason has less to do in ecclesiastical controversies,

controversies than [any other, Politics excepted. Philosophy and Superstition have confounded the great and good intention of Ethics: the one by raising mankind comparatively above his rank in the hierarchy of moral government; and the other by degrading him much beneath it.

OUR forefathers, whose wisdom we extol, particularly when we can apply their practical knowledge to strengthen our favourite positions, shed their own blood with the most generous profusion to unfetter the mind, as well as to preserve their posterity, as they apprehended, from inquisitorial barbarity. With much circumspection and good sense they established forms, with certain restraints, proportioned to the weak and unsettled state of intellectual morality: they solicited an obedience to them by the force of reason, and the philosophy of those times: it was intended to be no more than a mode of discipline to strengthen the *new-raised* corps of *moderate* Christians against the *remorseless* opinions of Papal Bigotry; to form the *Protestant Levies* into a compact body, the better to *platoon* the *stubborn, uncharitable Veterans* with *rational hypothesis*, and *universal philanthropy*. *Martyrs* have preached the *new doctrine* in *flames*! and our ablest Divines have with unwearied pains wrote in defence of it; and we Laymen, who intrust our souls to their *curing*, have endured the restraining forms with ease and satisfaction for many years. Our long perseverance lulled the

Hydra to rest; and all those miscreants, who by false zeal have dethroned the Deity from his seat of mercy, and continued the voluntary slaves of superstitious cruelty, have long concealed their unchristian hatred to the Hereticks, and seemed perfectly reconciled to the terms on which they were allowed to exercise their faith.

WHY then disturb them, in their still and inoffensive devotions, with dispensations and privileges which the moderate and philosophical *Romanists* never expected, and were far from soliciting, particularly in the present disorderly situation of our affairs? They were aware that the times were unpropitious to theological reformation; they likewise knew, that there is a rooted prejudice in the disposition of the vulgar Protestants against the Papists, which was not to be flubbed up whilst the nation was at enmity with itself, and in *warlike friendship* with two *Catholic* powers: add to all this, the discerning part of that persuasion, I am very well informed, had no confidence in the *upright* intention of those men who officiously undertook to relieve them, as they were the very identical men who stirred up religious suspicions in the minds of the people against their Sovereign, only for confirming those terms of capitulation his Majesty was bound in honour to confirm, which gave the like toleration to his new Catholic subjects in Canada; and who reproached their King with

with the opprobrious epithet of *Papist*, for granting to *one* part of his most *distant* dominions what *they* have licentiously conferred on *all*.

ARE such paradoxical men to be intrusted with our religious—or civil liberties? Surely not;—they are valuable possessions; and every *Country-Gentleman* should be as wary in confiding his political inheritance, as he is in laying out his money: a moment's reflection will intimate to him, that Government is the best security for both. The danger of trusting our liberty or property in private hands, arises from the imperfection of human nature, and the difficulty of distinguishing the false lights which are held out to deceive. For want of a surer guide, we form a judgment of the inward man from his outward appearance: this is pursuing the *vapour*. Men of *ostentatious* and *noisy* fame are the men to be guarded against. Mr. BYDE, of *Ware-Park*, was a Patriot of popular virtue, which had such attractive powers, that he enticed all the fortunes in the neighbourhood into his own hands, and, faithful to the genuine spirit of modern Patriotism, made off with them. Mr. BYDE is not the only impostor: there are many in the same class of popularity who are in the same estimation. Within a few weeks of his paying half-a-crown in the pound, Mr. SAYRE opened a magnificent bank upon the credit of Patriotism. Mr. WILKES obtained a very considerable loan upon the credit of

Patriotism! Apothecaries have slipped into practice upon the same recommendation! Beggars have been chosen Aldermen of London, and Idiots elected into the Common Council upon the same interest! and, wondrous to tell, Officers have gained some reputation with the lower Citizens by the favour of Patriotism! And what has been the consequence?—The credulous have lost their money; the patient his life; the City of London its dignity; and the Army—which has been the only gainer—has lost several worthless fellows.

EVERY Country-Gentleman, and every Shop-keeper and Mechanic within the bills of mortality, must remember, after the settling of Canada, how the MINORITY alarmed us with dangers the more dreadful as we knew nothing about them: that they told us in the most pathetic language of manifold mischiefs which threatened our civil and mental privileges, from permitting the exercise of the Catholic Religion in any part of the King's dominions, even tho' it was afar off: that they urged with all the energy of persuasion the necessity of resisting such *unconstitutional* indulgences: and to provoke the people to *unsheath* the sword against the dispensing influence of the Crown, they represented his Majesty as an enemy to the Protestant religion;—that the *abandoned* Ministry were aiming at arbitrary power through the assistance of the Papists!

pists ! and that the Parliament, corrupted to their views, were a set of venal profligates, for legalizing a concession so destructive of the true religion ! Their pious ejaculations reached the ears of the *faithful* Americans : those righteous people absorbed the sacred fluid, and were so affected at the infelicities which *might* happen from such a subversion, that they urged it as a material cause of their going into rebellion ! Now, the MINORITY are bringing this *distant* and most dreadful evil to our own thresholds ; and their dear friends the Americans have engaged his Most Catholic Majesty in a treaty of social confidence, to maintain them in the true Protestant faith ! and the Host is seen parading through the streets of Boston, as a publick pledge of his Most Catholic Majesty's intentions.

SUCH inconsistency in the MINORITY, must necessarily involve another question : What could be their motive for opposing the Catholic interest so strenuously, when we were at peace, and in a condition to correct any irregular efforts ; and now so zealous in promoting it, when we have so many other evils to resist ? Let us recollect the furious and inexorable temper of Opposition, and it will immediately open to the most candid mind, that it was a deep-laid scheme to strengthen their *own* arm, and weaken the *Minister's* ; for if Lord NORTH had opposed the motion made by Sir GEORGE SAVILE in favour of the Presbyterians
and

and Papists, those formidable bodies of Dissenters would have united against him, and by their cabals and intrigues would have thrown such power into the hands of the MINORITY, as to have enabled those Demagogues to have overthrown the whole junto of Ministers—perhaps the Constitution itself--and appoint a Governor of their own form and likeness. Such a supreme Magistrate, when invested with authority, and feeling his own strength, would immediately, from the wisdom of necessity, disarm and destroy those, who, upon no good principle, had elected him ; and delegate a power to such low, degenerate minds who would submit to his tyranny, for the unmanly pride of tyrannizing over others.—The Ministry having too much upon their minds to give a place for religious disquisitions, suffered the question to pass without a debate on their part, to the mortification of the MINORITY. Disappointed in their momentous scheme, they now content themselves with exhibiting an under-plot in the same farce.

LORD GEORGE GORDON, the modern *Calvin*, to whose conduct the managers have cast the part of the Protestant Champion, seems to make a jest of the character, by dressing it like a Catholic Abbé: yet, notwithstanding this, and many other extravagances in this Actor's performance, he will not want injudicious partisans to give him applause! The *devotees* in the religion of the true God, or the followers of Bacchus, are in disposition

tion the same : there is a *phrenzy* in both : and if there is a wish to prevent mischief from contagion, the fever should be checked in the first symptom.

THAT superstitious minds are the most irritable; religious disputes the most furious and inexorable; and that the most trifling incident has graduated to the most dreadful catastrophe; should be remembered in the present uncompacted state of our moral and political affections. That the Opposition meant to harraßs the Minister, and weaken his interest with the people, by this religious controversy, for selfish purposes only, is beyond a doubt. I hope, and I am inclined to believe, that *many* of the party meant nothing worse; but if the Catholic Religion was so very alarming when at the utmost extremities, what must it be when insinuated into the very heart of the kingdom? Such daring absurdities in the conduct of Opposition will justify the boldest conjectures.

To give plausibility to the most rigid surmises, Lord GEORGE GORDON, an inveterate enemy of Lord NORTH's, made application to that Nobleman to carry into the House the Protestants Petition, to expose the Minister to the danger of *chaining* the *Bear*, which the *Minority* had wantonly let loose. Lord NORTH most likely was nodding when the *dull* business was agitated; and never
offers

offers the Petition to Sir GEORGE SAVILE, who took such a *lively* part in bringing these troubles upon us. In a fair and honest view, Sir GEORGE is the fittest person to present it; for if a well-meaning man should unintentionally involve his Country in dangerous perplexities, he would, from the integrity of his heart, exert his utmost abilities to disembarrafs his fellow-subjects from apprehensions he had occasioned. If Sir GEORGE SAVILE is the worthy man I esteem him, he will step forward at this juncture, and throw some of his oil upon the rising billows, to smoothe the tempest of Christian animosity. If Sir GEORGE should refuse to stir in it, I shall think that *party spirit* has bewitching properties, more powerful than ever Circe had! I shall exclaim, it has overcome the virtues of Ulysses, and changed him to a monster! But I hope some pitying Deity will yet present him with an herb of such efficacy, that like the Grecian sage he may overcome the enchantress, and be restored to the *freedom* of his senses.

WHEN a writer presumes to publish ungrateful truths, which make against the character of a popular favourite, the *runners* and *birelings* of Party immediately cry him down for illiberality: however, as I never wish to see the *liberty* of the press *infringed* upon, or *discouraged* by *Patriot* or *Minister*, I will conclude this essay with a memorable fact; and thereby prove, with the freedom of an

unpensioned scribbler, what I asserted in the former part of it, That Sir GEORGE SAVILE is not the most *courtly*, or the most *candid* man in the kingdom.

MR. SYKES, the Nabob, is a man perfectly well known to the Bramin in India ; to Lord SHELBURN^e*, and to GEN. BURGOYNE, in England. Almon in his curious paper of *no news*, has painted him in the *rough*, and in the *smooth* ; so that, like all the rest of Almon's trumpery, there is no forming a true picture of him. He was much better handled in a Committee of the House of Commons. Sir GEO. YONGE, the Chairman, presented to the world a very *faithful* and *approved* copy of him. It was characteristical of part of his deformities : yet, to the amazement of all those who took notice of it, Mr. SYKES found a friend in Sir GEORGE SAVILE, who was daring enough, in Sir GEORGE YONGE's absence, to prevail on the House to reprobate their former judgment, and to rescind from the face of their Minutes the ill-favoured impression ! The *incivility* to Sir GEORGE YONGE was equally *unmerited*, as the *compliment* to Mr. SYKES was *undeserving*. Shew me the Mi-

* *Shelburne.*]—To diabolize Mr. HARLEY as much as possible, his Lordship compared him to Mr. SYKES. Lord SHELBURN^e's opinion of Mr. SYKES is a further comment upon Sir GEORGE SAVILE's immaculate integrity and candour in his choice of friends.

nister who is hardy enough to venture upon an action so personally rude to Sir GEORGE YONGE, so degrading to the dignity of Parliament, and the purpose of Committees ; but above all, so insulting to every idea of social virtue.—For shame! talk no more of the *prerogative* of the Crown, but change your note to the *undue influence* of the People.



T H E
R E F O R M E R.

N U M B E R II.

FACTION AND OPPOSITION DEFINED.—THE DIFFERENCE IN BOTH HISTORICALLY STATED.—GRATITUDE OVERPOWERED BY VANITY EXEMPLIFIED IN THE CONDUCT OF BYNG.—THE CARTHAGINIAN AND ROCKINGHAM FACTIONS ASSIMILATED.

T H E
R E F O R M E R.
N U M B E R II.

ARRIGE AURES.

TER.

FACTION is a combination of restless spirits, confederated together for the worst of purposes! It is the reverse of *Opposition*; they differ both in their motives and their endeavours. *Opposition* arises from an honest indignation to some worthless object, for a general good. *Faction* is a peevish, malevolent disposition to persecute men of the most amiable characters, to gratify a private resentment; or, as is generally thought, to thrust Ministers out of office, *only* to make vacancies for themselves! This last implication will be considered as still urging the old vulgar hypothesis; but I mean to go further, I will evince the supposition sufficiently here. There is philosophy in Politicks, as well as in Physics: a political phenomenon may be equally explained by analogy; and his principle of action ascertained by experiment. The revolution of a WALPOLE—a PULTENEY—a PITT, with many other Comets that have

have

have figured away in the Political Hemisphere, are inserted in the State Diary under the article PATRIOTISM, as so many mathematical or astronomical demonstrations ; so that we are in no want of a RICHMOND, a ROCKINGHAM, or a SHELBURNE, as deducible evidences to prove the proposition.

OPPOSITION is a generous, benevolent impulse : *Faction* is a narrow, selfish, mischievous propensity ; and in such disrepute, that it is not even allowed the dignity it sometimes aspires to. *Faction* occupies the *emptiest* space in a *Royal*, as well as in a *Plebeian* mind. How dissimilar are men ! Let the language of fiction explain the contradictory temper so observable in the same class of beings.

THERE were formerly in the *Greater Tartary*, two different sorts of *Genii* : the one, disposed to do good to mankind, acknowledged the great *Geoncha* for their King : the other, never pleased but whilst they were exercising their malicious inclination, had no better master than the revengeful *Zeloulou*.

THESE two Chiefs of the *Genii* had, for almost three hundred years, been at continual war with each other. *Geoncha* protected nobody that *Zeloulou* did not immediately endeavour to traduce and persecute ; and *Zeloulou* could execute no ill action

action upon the children of the earth, but *Geoncha* presently set about to redress it.

WE have at this time, in our Island a *Geoncha* in the *Clancellor*, to watch over the *Zelous* in one House : and why may we not look up to Lord NORTH, of equal promptitude (if not of equal abilities) to check those *evil Geni* who counter-act every good measure in the other ?

THE troubles in the reign of Charles the First began with *Opposition*. Their end was to redress real grievances, and to defend the Constitution against the encroachments of the Royal prerogative ; but the measures they at first pursued, changed with the people who followed the first reformers, and *Faction* succeeded *Opposition*. These disingenuous and turbulent spirits suspended the Constitution, and enslaved the free-born Briton to the edicts of a Tyrannical Usurper. When the people could no longer bear the insults of Republican Despotism, *Opposition* revived, and restored the *Constitution* with the *Monarch*.

OPPOSITION disarmed James the Second of his presumptive weapon ; and the *Revolution*, which took place in consequence of the King's stubborn attachment to unconstitutional persuasions, convinced that Princely Bigot, that Kings have no *divine right* to enslave the minds of their subjects to *abject* and *irrational* opinions. The motive

was liberal, and the end happiness to this kingdom. But this intellectual harmony is to be disturbed by a set of men who encourage opinions they unjustly accuse others of adopting! To alienate the affections of the People from our present Sovereign, the pot-house politicians are instructed to accuse his Majesty of a predilection for Popery, at the very time when the *Majores*, or leading men of the Faction, were pricking the conscientious feelings of Lord GEO. GORDON, in moving both Houses to favour by toleration that very apostacy which the *Servi*, or slaves to the party were commanded to reprobate! Surely their *civility* to the King must *discredit* the *imputation* with the People; and they no longer suffer themselves to be insulted and duped with such improbable impossibilities, that the King would be a willing accessory to such a sacrilegious felony against his own interest, as subscribing to a deed which transferred his ecclesiastical property to another!

It was the *Spanish Faction* in the first James's Cabinet, that brought Sir Walter Raleigh to the block. It was the *popular * Faction* in the last reign

* *Popular Faction.*]—Lord ANSON at that time was like Lord SANDWICH at this, or as a first Lord of the Admiralty; will be at any future time, vilified and traduced by the *Bob-twig* interest from Radcliffes to Hackney, through the Cities of London and Westminster to Brentford Butts. They associated themselves in mobs; they threatened Ministers; they hissed those Lords who spoke in favour of BYNG; and to
make

reign, that doomed the hapless Admiral BYNG to an ignominious death. The nephew, who inherits the best part of the Admiral's fortune, in compliment to *publick virtue*, is hugging those very people to his breast! The *Murderers* of his *Uncle* are his *honest* and independent friends! and, unlike *Charles* in *The School for Scandal*, this patriotick nephew would sell his benefactor's * picture to the mob of Hackney, for the vain glory of being halloo'd by them through the County of Middlesex, and to represent the assassins in Parliament! a compliment of little estimation, and only bestowed upon unworthy characters.

IT was *Hanno's Faction* that involved Hannibal in the destruction of Carthage: and as Commerce *should* be the spirit and genius of England, as it was in the *happiest times* of Carthage, I shall assimilate the *factions* of both, that the destruction of one *Great Nation* may, by example, prevent the destruction of the other.

THERE is nothing grand or respectable in *Faction*: it is known from its wantonness: it is

make sure of their victim, they dared Lord ANSON to shoot him.—Lord ANSON was compelled to be unmerciful, to preserve his own honour; and the devoted BYNG was sacrificed to appease the wicked spirit of the lower people.

* I have seen wrote under a picture of Mr. BYNG to this purport—that he was shot to appease the turbulent spirit of the times.

heard only in the uproar it makes. *Faction* carries by *clamour*, what *Opposition* effects by *argument*. When a leader of *Faction* has any pointed motion that promises to alarm Ministers, confound the measures of Government, and protract the execution of them, the shrimps in both Houses—(Why shrimps? Because they *cling* together *without affection*, and *claw* one another to *scramble* into more *comfortable* situations)—the shrimps in both Houses are immediately intoxicated with the spirit of sedition:—they are disposed to be unruly:—and, with the party, it has all the wildness and uproar of a *publick* rejoicing upon a *private* victory! Squibs, crackers, and paper-serpents, are let off both within and without doors, to annoy all those discreet people who are too grave to sport with such inflammable play-things. But if Ministers are to be scared from their tenable posts by the scintillations of wild-fire; or surrender themselves prisoners of state to the gasconade menaces of a Frenchified *Faction*; or put the factious chiefs in possession of the garrison, because they threaten to assault them with the *Veterans* who *stormed* the *Citadel* of *Charles the First*;—farewell to England!—Rather, let the Ministers emulate the noble fellows at Savannah, who are not *afraid* of *provoking* either a *French* or an *American* enemy, and with true British fortitude drive the foe from their entrenchments, and compel them to raise the siege. If some constitutional exertions are not opposed to
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the over-bearing power of the people, this devoted Country, like Carthage, will be a scene of civil blood-shed, ruin, and desolation. It is more to be dreaded, as Sir GEORGE SAVILE with more *zeal* than *wisdom* has announced in a place that *should* be sacred to truth, that his *nine thousand* Yorkshire * *Bites* were *cheating* themselves of their *time*; which, as Seneca observes in his first Epistle, is the only property a *free Citizen* can call his own!—What rogues!—that they have suspended all commercial operations!—that from patriotic idleness their agrarian improvements stand still!—what a compliment to public virtue! and that Industry was only to be excited by the wolves of sedition, to frighten the poor sheep from their pastures, and make them subscribe to their own destruction. Then, like an *Outawa* with his scalp, Sir GEORGE exultingly holds forth to his tribe the † skins he has fleeced them of.

A NATION, like the sturdy Oak, is of slow growth. What circumspection is required in its first budding! what industry whilst it is branching forward! what management to train it to its proper growth! what wisdom to preserve it at the height of its perfection!—yet, after all this mighty care and attention, how easily lopped! A few malicious spirits may fell it to the ground; or tear up every fibre, however deeply rooted,

* Sir GEORGE'S speech upon the Petition.

† In holding out the skins of parchment, the figure was truly grotesque.

from the soil it flourished in. Beware then of a RICHMOND, a ROCKINGHAM, and a SHELBURNE ! They have always the ax † in their mouths ; let them not apply it to the root.

CARTHAGE became opulent from commerce, and insolent from opulence. She treated her neighbours virtues with contempt, and her own with neglect. In the *Icon*, or Representation of this Island, the same muscular changes are very observable, and from the same incidental causes.

CARTHAGE extended her dominions on both sides the Mediterranean, quite into the Main Ocean, and became masters of the sea by the wisest regulations in her commercial affairs. England has extended her boundaries to the four quarters of the world ; and acquired the same superiority at sea by her naval force, and the extension of her commerce.

THE Romans, natural enemies to the Carthaginians, were jealous of their increasing strength, as the French are now of the full-grown power

† Alluding to their perpetual threats of bringing the Ministers to the block. Their not carrying their threats into execution, is an evident proof that the Ministers have given no cause for such vengeance to be exercised upon them—as the cause only seems to be wanting.

of the English ; and the Colonies of both nations were the objects which the Romans and French incessantly endeavoured to wrest from their respective adversaries, and which provoked the several Punic and Gallic wars.

THE Hannonian faction, like the present ROCKINGHAM faction, jealous of the rank and power which the Barcan family held in the State, thwarted every measure proposed by them for the public good ; and were prepared, at all events, to sacrifice the honour of Carthage to the selfish views of raising themselves upon the ruin of Hamilcar ! Hanno's conduct was so notoriously repugnant to the interest of his Country, that Appian, in his History of the Punic War, calls his party the Roman faction ; as many sensible dispassionate people consider the ROCKINGHAM faction a more faithful and puissant ally to the American rebels, than either French or Spaniards !

UPON the death of Hamilcar, Hannibal his son, under the tuition of Asdrubal, his brother-in-law, succeeded to all the military glory of his father. This young Captain by the most gallant enterprize first made known the Carthaginian name to the rude inhabitants of the Alps ; marched into Italy with the most daring alacrity ; and after the splendid victory of Cannæ, would have subjected the Roman Commonwealth to the domination

nion of Carthage, had not the inveterate and inexorable Hanno, by an ill-timed parsimony, refused to furnish him with a supply of money and the necessary reinforcement of men.

THE same unseasonable frugality is the enormity of the ROCKINGHAM faction: their schemes of œconomy are partial and self-interested; their mode of saving, personal and ungracious. The *imitative* Patriots of London, like the *scum* upon every *ebullition*, dance on the perturbed wave, to shew themselves now and then upon the top of the furnace. These Corporation-men availed themselves of an unnatural privilege granted to them by the weakness of former Kings, and opposed the spirit and resolution of the Cabinet, by absolutely refusing to back the Press-warrants; and perversely sheltered within their walls a number of able seamen, and idle fellows fitted to the sea, at a time the Nation stood most in need of their service! This abuse of their privilege prevented the able and indefatigable Minister of the Marine from fitting out a squadron of force, to check the naval power of France at the beginning of her insolence. An armament at that time, well manned and well appointed, would have chastised the French, disheartened the Americans, and discouraged the Spaniards from joining in the ungenerous confederacy: and most likely at this hour, we should have been at peace with

with all the world ; and the deluded Americans once more a happy and contented people. Privileges of imperious authority are heterogeneous to the simple modification of commercial polity, as well as subversive of the supreme power of the State. Such a mighty influence plagues the plodding Citizen with ideas too fantastical and too prodigal for his management, and too often turns his head from Trade to Politics ; hurries him from the most profitable to the most destructive pursuits ; from compounding with his fellow-citizens, for his not playing the truant in the highest offices in the county, to compounding with his creditors ; transferring his name from Bank subscriptions, and bills of entry, to the Gazette ; and to close the sad and melancholy *antithesis*, instead of a voluptuous riot at the London-Tavern, perish for want in one of the Compters ! I write this the more feelingly, as I have known many a sober, discreet man victimated upon the altar of Patriotism, since the contractile influence of WILKES has diminished the respectable Citizen into the political Coxcomb. It is equally absurd to invest a subordinate Magistrate with uncontrollable power to resist the ordinances, and affront the first Magistrate in the same Kingdom. It is an *imperium in imperio*. A prerogative so hurtful to the people who possess it, and which has been, and may at all times be exerted to the ruin of the Nation at large, should be withdrawn, for the happiness and security of both.

HANNO having gained over the pliant, fickle, and unwary multitude to his party, perfumed to attack Hannibal in the full career of his glory, and to disarm him of the means of preserving his own country. This mighty General maintained a footing in Italy for fourteen years after the battle of Cannæ, against the Roman power and Carthaginian faction! The Romans, to improve the advantage of Hanno's alliance, fitted out a larger fleet with transports of soldiers, to be commanded by Scipio. They appeared upon the coast of Africa, as the combined fleets did upon ours; but Scipio possessing the gallantry which D'ORVILLE'S wanted, was not satisfied with scaring the Carthaginian women, and *Patriots-like women*, but made good his landing,—ordered his fleet to attend him to Attica,—and without further delay entered upon the conquest of Carthage.

HANNO had been too haughty, for his own ambition; and too violent, for his own security. He had, by the most stubborn malevolence, invited worse enemies into his country than the Barcan family. The times were truly perilous, and real danger strips us at once of all our injurious prejudices. It induces our Orators to speak truth, and our Patriots to act with integrity: it reveals the State-jugglers to the People, by shewing how artfully they have shuffled the cards to deceive their understanding, and to draw them in to be the willing instruments of the deception practised upon

upon them. Hannibal, who was lately execrated by the faction as the cause of all their calamities, who was impeached as the curse of their country, was now called upon to save it. The very people who before had traduced him, in their despondence called aloud for his assistance.

HANNIBAL returned to his fated home, discouraged and despoiled of his glory : he saw his country devoted to everlasting infamy and ruin. — To obtain the least opprobrious terms, he had an interview with Scipio. More respect is due to an *illustrious enemy* than to a *dishonourable friend*. Hannibal met with that *generous distinction* from Scipio ;—but his country was so debased by the cowardly and traitorous behaviour of the faction, that the many great and excellent qualities in Hannibal were not sufficient to raise an idea in Scipio's mind, that Carthage had any remains of respectability about it. Hannibal's soul was not sunk so low, as to surrender up the honour of his country, without one struggle to recover it. These two magnanimous Heroes took leave of each other, and prepared for the eventful contest. After having performed every part that the ablest General could preparatively do, as well as the most spirited in the action, Hannibal was compelled to yield to the superior discipline and hardiness of the Roman legions. After his defeat, he retreated to Adrumetum ; and Carthage soon after submitted

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ted to the rigorous conditions which Scipio dictated to the Senate.

If the Faction which at this time is weakening every fibre of the State, and exposing our Government to the contempt of all nations, should persist in the same malevolent line of conduct they have for some years invariably pursued, the few spirited Britons who may to the last possess English hearts and English integrity, may too soon have the mortification to behold the *mob* of this country—for the Senate, and every other vestige of its ancient dignity, will be annihilated—I repeat it, the *mob* of this country assembled at York, or at Hackney, to receive the humiliating terms of accommodation from a *Duke Aubigny*, or a *Count D'Estaing*.

I SHALL conclude this Essay with Hannibal's speech to the Senate, at the time they were weeping over the distresses they had betrayed themselves into. Hannibal, instead of joining in the sorrowful party, and shedding tears with the crocodiles, smiled at their cowardly lamentations; when Asdrubal Hadus reprimanded him for insulting the miseries which he himself had brought upon the State, in the same virulent language with which Sir GEORGE SAVILLE reproached Lord NORTH, when that Minister smiled at the Spanish rescript.

HANNIBAL'S SPEECH.

" COULD my heart be seen, and its sentiments discovered as clearly as my countenance, you would then find that this laughter, which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But, is this laughter more unreasonable or absurd than your tears ? Then, then you ought to have wept, when your arms were taken from you, your ships burnt, and you interdicted from engaging in foreign wars ! That was the mortal blow by which you fell ! We are sensible of the public calamity, so far only as we have a personal concern in it ; and the loss of our money gives us the most pungent sorrow. Hence it was, that when our City was made the spoil of the Victor ; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh was heard ! But now you are called upon to pay the tribute out of your own private purses, one would conclude from the lamentations, that your State was going to its burial ! Alas ! I only wish that the subject of this day's fear does not soon appear to you the least of your misfortunes."

T H E
R E F O R M E R.
N U M B E R III.

LEADERS OF FACTION AND KEEPERS OF WILD
BEASTS ASSIMILATED.—A SKETCH OF LORD
SHELBURNE.—A MORE FINISHED DRAWING OF
BURKE. ——— THE SPIRIT OF THE MINORITY
PENSIONERS SPEECHES UPON THE TAX THAT
THREATENS THEM. ——— A HINT TO THE
CORPORATION OF LONDON.—REFORMATION
UPON A WIDE SCALE.

T H E
R E F O R M E R.

N U M B E R I I I.

Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra ? Cic. Cat.

THE Constitution is an object that hangs upon every man's lips, but seldom gains his attention ! It is the same with the Constitution as with Women ; for not having a *virtuous* affection for either, we talk of the *beautiful* parts in the form of our Government, with the same *libidinous* freedom as we talk of that assemblage of graces which gives such ascendancy to the Fair Sex, who are appointed by Nature to nourish and subdue our passions ; and in Love as in Politics, each Rake or Patriot has his particular favourite, which is held up the paragon of personal or political excellency, and not any man is allowed to dispute the judgment of his choice. The Gallant would be sent to *Coventry*, if he presumed upon the privilege of Nature to assert, that there can be *beauty* in *red hair*, when the Rake has given the *Brunette* for his toast ; or tossed out of the window at the Freemasons Arms in Queen-street, if he

he dared to say any thing in favour of *monarchy*, when the *democratic* TOMMY TOWNSHEND has *reprobated* the very idea of it. It is from this kind of tyranny that the variable features which constitute the charms of female delicacy, and the several parts which together perfect the beautiful form of our Government, must give way to popular and lewd opinions, founded upon the base inclination of prostituting and destroying the loveliness of both.

WE are at this time labouring to undo what the approved wisdom and spirit of our Ancestors had so firmly united; we are endeavouring to weaken one particular part of the Constitution, when it is the duty of every *wise* and *honest* Citizen to exert his utmost abilities to strengthen the *whole*, by allotting to each its peculiar immunities, and maintaining each in its legal privileges. It is the equilibrium of parts which sustains the universe: the same equilibrium supports and keeps together our excellent Constitution; for the instant any one part preponderates and becomes too weighty for the other, that instant the centre of gravity is overcome, and the whole fabric tumbles into confusion.

NARROWING the prerogative of the Crown, and distending the rights of the People, are resolutions truly alarming, as they seem too partial to be founded upon *liberal* or *just* principles; and I
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am the more inclined to suspect the *integrity* of such a measure, upon seeing the passions of men take so considerable a part in the conduct of it.

It is the spirit and folly of the times to rail at Monarchy ;—to flatter and cajole the hereditary Counsellors of the Nation into a supineness ; — and to set the People against both ! Monarchy — Aristocracy — or Democracy, acting separately, are evils ; but Monarchy the least of the three, as it is easier to apply a remedy to a single sore than to an hundred. Our judicious and physiological ancestors have digested the humours of all three into one healthful wound, which is never felt but when irritated by some extraneous matter. Let us then preserve our Constitution in the same good and sound habit our forefathers left it.

THE Leaders of *Faction*, like the proprietors of *Wild Beasts*, attract and with-hold the attention of the people by similar arts ; they each of them find their advantage in *terrifying* the mind from its necessary vigilance. What simple, untutor'd swain can behold the exaggerated cruelties of the tyger, as represented upon the painted cloth by the interested Showman, and suppose that there is any possibility of living in the same country with such tremendous animals ? Or, what uninformed, ignorant shopkeeper, of the gloomy patriotic line, can listen to the dreadful reports of *mischiefs* which are *said* to happen from *Royal*

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influence, and believe himself in *possession* of what he *really* enjoys? In both cases, the mind is deluded by the same subtilties! the natural right of Man is suspended! the freedom of thought is prescribed! and they each of them think, and act, with regard to the object before them, by the direction of others! The Countryman and Patriot become dupes to the *grimace* and *impositions* of the *Jack-puddings* of both Showmen; for neither the one or the other dare think that a man can venture to look a Tyger or a *King of England* in the face, although the *Countryman* sees the Tyger in *chains*, and the *Patriot* hears his *King* insulted by the *lowest* of his *subjects*.

It is the custom, as it is the interest of Faction, to exhibit the prerogative of the Crown, with every exaggerated description, as the *Leviathan* that is to devour our liberties; and the *Minister*, who is the *Keeper* for the *day*, is the *Foot* appointed by the *Knaves* of *Faction* to *feed* and *pamper* the *Monster* into *strength*, for the honour of falling a *prey* to it, with the rest of his fellow-sufferers! It is too ridiculous to be seriously and impartially believed; especially at this particular time, when ALMON and many others daily convince all the world, that liberty is at its full stretch, and that the *Crown* wants *influence* to restrain the unconstitutional distension of it.

THE present factious *Crew* * have nothing *manly* or *sentimental*, either in their *actions* or their *language*, to recommend them to the approbation of the *honest* and *well-meaning* Citizen. Their conduct is the conduct of *Ruffians*; and their spirit is the spirit of *Incendiaries*.—A fellow was brought before me for stirring up a tumult, and stealing goods at a fire.—“Is it possible,” said I, “that
 “in human nature such a wretch could be found,
 “to plunder the afflicted Widow, and deprive
 “her of the little which some friendly hand had
 “snatched from the flames? The hapless ma-
 “tron wanted not thy un pitying aid to finish
 “her destruction!”—“Lord, Sir!” answered the hardened Villain, “you know nothing at all
 “about the matter:—If your Worship had ever
 “been in *our* way, you would have known that
 “*confusion* and *distress* is the *only time* to do *business*.” This is the *very* argument which is made use of by the present Associators and Committee-Men; and I am sorry, very sorry that ideas so degrading to the dignity of *rational beings*, should compel me into such bad company, more fully to illustrate, by comparison, the Characters of the present Whelps of Sedition.

YET if the staunchest in the pack would suspend their present howl, and influence the Curs who follow in the cry to silence their yell, and

* *Crew*.]—I do not like the word—it is harsh; but the Patriotic Writers and Orators have authorized the use of it.

take up again the *old note* that distinguished for so many ages the breed of this Country; and instead of rushing upon the *timid* Hare in its form, because it nibbled the corn:—I say, if they would couple together, and unite in one body to chase the *Bulls* and *wild Bears* from the *Gallican* and *Iberian* forests, and, as their ancient game, would pursue them with the ardour of British hounds now in their full strength and power, and leave coursing the *domestic animal* until the more manly and important sport was out of season; every Country Gentleman of the *true* spirit would then honour their names by repeating them.

If this well-aimed stroke should bruise the *keel* of the MINORITY, or touch any other *vulnerable* part, so as to turn their minds from the *little* affairs of personal resentment to the *sublime* business of saving their Country, I would call them the *Bruti* of the Commonwealth! I would ransack the Heathen Mythology, and chuse from the Pantheon of the Ancients the most illustrious characters to amplify the assimilation! I would compare them to—what they would most resemble—the most virtuous men this country ever produced.

THE EARL OF SHELburnE, in the rude and melancholy style of the Party, was the first who urged the necessity of forcing the Ministers upon some plan of reformation. This Lord pos-

possesses much historical knowledge; he has also the talent of rendering it subservient to the illustration of the most splendid falsities: and if there was not that force in nature, which is called *Truth*, to turn the edge of the various points which his Lordship directs with such vehemence against Government, they would wound the Minister to an annihilation of every principle of *political* existence:—perhaps the intention would be physically fulfilled, and the Minister worried out of his life. This Nobleman is more *polite* than *well-bred*: he understands *complimenting*, but is a stranger to *good-manners*:—he can flatter CHARLES FOX, and speak disrespectfully of Mr. EDEN!—Lord SHELburne *may* be complaisant, but I am *sure* he wants candour.

MR. BURKE is a genius of the first class. He possesses the most fruitful imagination, the richest vein of genuine ridicule, with a mind elegantly formed: but his judgement appears not to be equal to his fancy; it is shackled by private interest. Mr. BURKE wants firmness to be free. Those fine talents which ought to be free and unlimited, are bound by party attachment: he is the slave to systems too mean to be his own. Set him at liberty, and he would be the admiration of all distinctions of men—an illumination in the volume of human nature. Mr. BURKE has powers to do *some* mischief, and a *great deal* of good; and it is to be wished that he will, before it is too late,

apply

apply those gifts which Nature has so lavishly bestowed upon him, to the end for which Nature designed them—for the preservation of his country, and the good of mankind. Mr. BURKE very justly fixes the true sublime upon objects which excite terror, and he never loses sight of his favourite theory. He brings it forward to view even in his political pursuits; for he alarms the minds of his auditors with dangers which have no existence in truth, only to sublime them into his ethereal opinions. This Political Philosopher applies the *unfitness* of the times to the *fitness* of *partial* reformation; and is so penetrating, that he sees the necessity of opposing Ministers, *right* or *wrong*, to soften the dissonance, and harmonize the opinions of both parties. It is a strange composition to a delicate ear; yet the Marquis of ROCKINGHAM *hum*s the same tune, Lord SHELburne *sings* in the same strain, and the Chorus vociferates in the same key. Mr. BURKE carried Lord SHELburne's Proposition into the House of Commons; but narrowing his plan, from the hints given to him in the *Yorkshire* Petition, he comprehended in his idea of reformation only one description of men; which plainly demonstrated, that the public good was not the prevailing motive to his plan of Reformation. However, the design, though abstracted, may be productive of such changes in Ministerial Œconomy, as to answer the purposes of the most virtuous and public-spirited undertaking. Mr. BURKE introduced
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his scheme with so much temperance and address, and maintained his *ground* with so much good sense, that he lost the wily Partizan in the honest Patriot.

IF the *letter* of the *Yorkshire* Petition is to be enforced, and *undeserved* pensions and *sinecure* offices are only to be taxed, the Dukes of GRAFTON and RICHMOND must stand the foremost upon this new Excise list; for *they* have not the least pretension to shelter their right to such enormous pensions under the protection of real merit. They were vicious in the *first concoction*, and I do not recollect any important services which these Dukes have done their country, to make them more digestible now. Sir GEORGE SAVILE *must* number them with the other *undeserved* pensions. We will judge of their comparative merit by some criterion. Clap them *along-side* of Lord Hawke; they must surely *strike* to the superior *weight* of his pretensions:—one was the reward of public virtue; the other the wages of private prostitution. Kings should provide for their *bastards*, but it is not fit that their revenue should exceed the establishment of a Prince of the Blood, who from his legitimate rank is obliged to live in expensive state. Take away the appointments from the Dukes of GLOUCESTER and CUMBERLAND, and their income is not equal to the patrimonial settlement of GRAFTON or RICHMOND. Four or five thousands a-year are enough for the first son
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of a whore in the kingdom; and when the settlements were made upon the children of Madame PENENCOURT and Mrs. VILLIERS, most probably they did not exceed that sum annually. Altho' these noble Dukes have waded to honours thro' a muddy stream, I have not a wish that any of the original soil should stick to them, or should tarnish the vanity of their armorial banner. I will not censure the Duke of RICHMOND for being ashamed of the bar which the King at Arms has appointed to his escutcheon; neither will I reproach the Duke of GRAFTON for his ancestry, because he was illiberal to the pre-eminently great Lord THURLOW:—it is unnecessary, for ungracious Dukes are ever disposed to upbraid themselves.

WHEN the Duke of RICHMOND stepped so forward in this favourite, from its being a vexatious, Plan of Reformation, he thought himself secure from every reproach that might be made against his patrimonial pension. But surely a Reformation founded upon *necessity*, and enforced by *public virtue*, will admit of no partiality, no party refinements; all *undeserved* pensions and *sinecure* places are *indiscriminately* considered as so many *suckers*, which must be rooted up, or annually lopped, that the parent stock may not be *drained* of its natural strength and vigour.

PLACES of the highest import in the State are at the appointment of the Crown; and ancient usage, the *municipal law* of this country, hath affixed certain salaries and certain perquisites to each office; and *those* are the places which the MINORITY has proscribed. But a patrimony given by the same hand, and secured by the *Statute Law*, is too sacred for Patriotism to interfere with. The latter appears to me the fittest object of the two for taxation, for like a real estate it descends to the children; but the other, being held during *pleasure*, comes under the description of a leasehold tenure; which makes it necessary for the tenant to be as frugal as possible, that he may save some little matter from the harvest of his toils, to maintain a young family, educated in a manner correspondent to the style the father was obliged by his rank to live in. The entailed pension, for which a man does nothing, and lives where he pleases, should be taxed with moderation: The efficient office, which hangs upon a man's life, or a Minister's pleasure, and fixes his residence in the most expensive situation, should be touched with tenderness.

BUT there are pensions more *inauspicious* to the blessing of a free Parliament than those bestowed by the Crown, from their being more secret; and pensions more *alarming* to the *security* of the nation, as they are given by the *enemies* of it. The Marquis of ROCKINGHAM, Lord SHELburne,
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and others, should be called upon to lay before the House, the names of all those who are pensioners upon their lists. And the Memoirs of Monsieur De SARTINE, upon some future day, will furnish us with the names upon his.

LET us hear what the most unwieldy Pensioners have to say to this new taxation. The Duke of GRAFTON *apostrophiz'd* with tears in his eyes, that he would give up his patrimony, his children, nay every thing, for the good of—Here an *apopspesis* stopt his patriotic affection from going too far. He remained eloquently silent for some time. He then proceeded, when the conjunction IF, which he spoke in capitals, explained another affection; a sort of selfish kindness that predominates, and is very discernible, not only in those who act the first characters, but in the mutes and under-parts of the *Farce* they are now rehearsing: His Grace glanced movingly upon his Cousin; but RICHMOND was too sulky to cry: indeed *his* wife had given him no children to cry after: however, the tear was too piteous to be disregarded, it was interesting to the family-compact; he therefore concurred with the Duke of GRAFTON, that IF all those who held estates upon grants at any time from the Crown, would consent to an extraordinary impost,—why then—perhaps—he would comply with the measure.

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LORD TEMPLE spoke very *handsomely* of his Father, and very *affectionately* of his Tellership:—that he valued his sinecure from the channel through which it flowed to him, and not from the thousands of gold and silver fish which enriched the stream: that it was the reward of *long* and faithful services. But his Lordship did not explain whether it was for planting the first rebellious thorn in *America*, or what other eminent services. Besides, *long* services do not require an extraordinary recompence; the very longevity, if the office is a lucrative one, will furnish a very ample reward for the fidelity of the person who held it. It is the *short* and *faithful* service that stands most in need of such generous auxiliations. His Lordship dwelt much upon the virtues of his Uncle Lord CHATHAM; the very uncle who united himself with the late Lord TEMPLE, to oppose his Father's administration, and reprobate the services he was rewarded for. His Lordship declared, that IF he could throw up his sinecure with honour,—why——His virtue began to faint, and he spoke the last words so low, that it was impossible to hear him.

LORD CAMDEN prefaced his patriotic renunciation with some libellous reflections upon his own understanding, and his own liberality. He said, that he had sacrificed upon the altars of *Ambition* and *Avarice* a *permanent* place of *great* honour! of *great* emolument! for a *precarious* appointment

of *higher* import, and of *more* value: that he was *invited* to the *upper* round of the ladder, and afterwards *forced* to come down again: that *his* pension was the *recompence* due to his *folly*, for having trusted the direction of his *Dignity* and *Fortune* to the regulation of a *Time-piece*, that might be *slept* at what hour the *regulator* pointed at.

THE Duke of MANCHESTER, whose fortune and œconomy are upon a par, for his Grace has but little of either, felt woefully the want of œconomy (so lamentably described by all those who have no hand in the bags) in the expenditure of the public revenue: and though his Grace seems to have little feeling for his confidential friends, who suffer from his *own* mismanagement; yet he feels *monstrously* for the People's distresses, arising (as the MINORITY would wish you to believe) from the Minister's prodigality. He mentioned his own distresses, which must necessarily have distressed others; for urging his poverty when he was building a Palace, must alarm his workmen more than the Influence of the Crown, or the corruption of Parliament: for though those industrious men approved the elegance of the design, they have been much dissatisfied in the finishing of it. His Grace, to follow in the same track of patriotic *diffimulation* with the Dukes who went before him, very virtuously offered to give up his *un-earned thousands* a-year,

and,

and, with the humility of an ancient Roman, retire to his *peculiatum*.

THESE specimens of *conditional* virtue from the *undeserving* Pensioners, and also from the *narrow* basis on which these designing men erected their Plan of Reformation, must convince every dispassionate looker-on, that the MINORITY never intended that their scheme should take place; they were sensible it would answer no *material* end to themselves or to the Public: their interest, consequently their wish, is against the success of it. They were well assured that Ministers would oppose it:—they knew they could not do otherwise; and then they knew that their two-fold purposes were fully accomplished. The Ministers would thereby be rendered more obnoxious to the *lower* people; and the BYNGS, the TOWNSHENDS, and other men of clamorous virtue, would secure the popular interest at the next General Election.

I, who am so far distant from the Vineyard, as to have no hope of plucking a single bunch of the Grapes; who can have no relative interest in pronouncing them either sweet or sour:—I, who have none of that Senatorial meanness about me, as to counterfeit feelings I have not, and flatter the basest of mankind, to canvass their suffrages for a seat in Parliament; there to consort with men who have lost their ancient dignity, by transferring their consequence to the *foolish* Parliaments held

held at York, Hackney, and a few other places ;— will, from a pure and unrefined affection to my Country, submit a plan of reformation more general, more equitable, and less partial, than that which is now under deliberation.

THE first object that presents itself is an equal land-tax ; for as we *all* riot in the *luxuries* of life, under the same protection ; as we are all (I suppose) equally interested in the honour and security of this Kingdom ; it therefore falls in with the idea of justice, that we should contribute equally to the common expences incurred for our common preservation and happiness. If the Corporation of London had less *party* and more *public* spirit, that is, if they had less *folly* and more *integrity* in their councils, they would petition for an equal land-tax, to ease the load so *oppressively* heaped upon London, and so *lightly* thrown upon Yorkshire, Marybone, and other places, that their Constituents might no longer be made the post-horses to bear the heaviest burthen of the State.

AN equal poors-rate would be a most just and salutary measure, as it would operate to the relief of every manufacturing town in England. It must be hurtful to every Citizen (the Corporation excepted, who have now more to do in *politics* than *trade*) when he is convinced of this shameful and ungenerous truth, that many pa-
rishes

ishes are paying *four shillings* in the pound poors-rate, when another parish is assessed at no more than *four-pence* in the pound ! The helpless wretch is aggregated with the proudest Peer in the realm, to form the great mass of political society : the Public partook of his powers, before disease and infirmity had deprived him of their exertions ; he therefore should be relieved and sustained by the Public in general, and not harrassed from parish to parish as a property belonging to a particular set of men : there is no other instance in the œconomy of human nature where property is so rigorously restored to its *lawful* owner. But the law in this case is not only inhuman, but it is unconstitutionally restrictive ; it acts against the political, as well as the natural rights of mankind ; it makes our poverty a crime ; for the poor labourer is a prisoner in his own parish, for a misfortune he could not avoid ; and the *Parish Officers* are the *Tyrants* who maintain the *slavish spirit* of this law, by keeping up to the rigours of it. They will not license the poor industrious man to seek for bread in another parish, although he cannot earn it in his own, from the apprehension of bringing an accumulated charge upon themselves : and from not having that certificate, the willing creature will not be cordially received into a foreign parish, from the like apprehensions. The *Crown* has not so *persecuting* an influence ; neither is *slavery* so *conspicuous* in an

Edict of France, as in this *Parish law of England*! This is a grievance the Corporation of *London* should complain of, and urge with decent energy the necessity of redressing it.

THE next object that glances upon the un-biassed mind, is the Clergy; a very respectable corps, under very irreverent circumstances; for in the aukward way which many of them at present hold their estates, they are exposed to the petulancy of every unsentimental Squire in the parish; which, to a meek and sensible mind, is most mortifying. I am pleading the cause of the *Divine*, not the *Clerical Statesman*: many of these Reverend Politicians have stept over the threshold of the Church, and followed the hue and cry of Reformation into the Taverns at York! Without my recommendation, those Gentlemen, I dare say, in their convivial associations, would offer up their *soul* and *body*, that is, their *tythe* and *glebe*, to the pruning knife of the reforming Patriot.

Those public virtues which were hid before,
Now rais'd by wine, swim up, and bubble o'er.

Theoc. Idyl. 26.

THE virtuous Reformers of the present times are ready enough to say, that Bishopricks are all sinecures, or approach very near to it; and that their pious friends JOHN WILKES and CHARLES FOX would act the parts of the two
Metro-

Metropolitans, for the tythe of their income; and that they can pick out many more such *worthy* men, who would represent the remainder of the Bench, for the same spiritual proportion of their revenues. It is most certain, that the Rector who holds the greatest living, has the least to do; and it too often happens, that those who are so happily guarded against the calamities of life, feel least for the afflictions of others, and are so uncharitable to their fellow-labourers, that they give less wages to their journeymen, than any other trade whatever. From this neglect, the lower servants in the House of God fare much worse, and are treated with less respect, than the turnspit in the house of my Lord Bishop. I venerate the Church; and it has always been my opinion, that an *exemplary* Clergyman should be treated by the *inhabitants* of his parish like the first man in it, as *they* have many benefits annexed to his office; for he not only takes care of their souls, but he preserves their body, and their effects also.—By his *instruction* the *good* are made better, and the *wicked* are *disarmed* of their *mischievous* intentions. Such an useful body of men should be put upon a more respectable footing than they are upon at present. I have given my judgement upon the case; I will now offer a plan for *their* relief, and the *public* service. I propose that every benefice throughout England should be valued; that a modus, equivalent to the full value of each living, should be esta-

blished by Act of Parliament, to be raised by assessment, and to be collected by the Churchwardens, and paid by them without any trouble to the incumbent. The value of each living being thus ascertained, sum up the charges against each, for yearly tenths, procurations, synodals, &c. and if any part of their freehold remains untaxed, let it bear an equal burthen with the rest of the Freeholders. Heads of Colleges to be taxed in like manner.

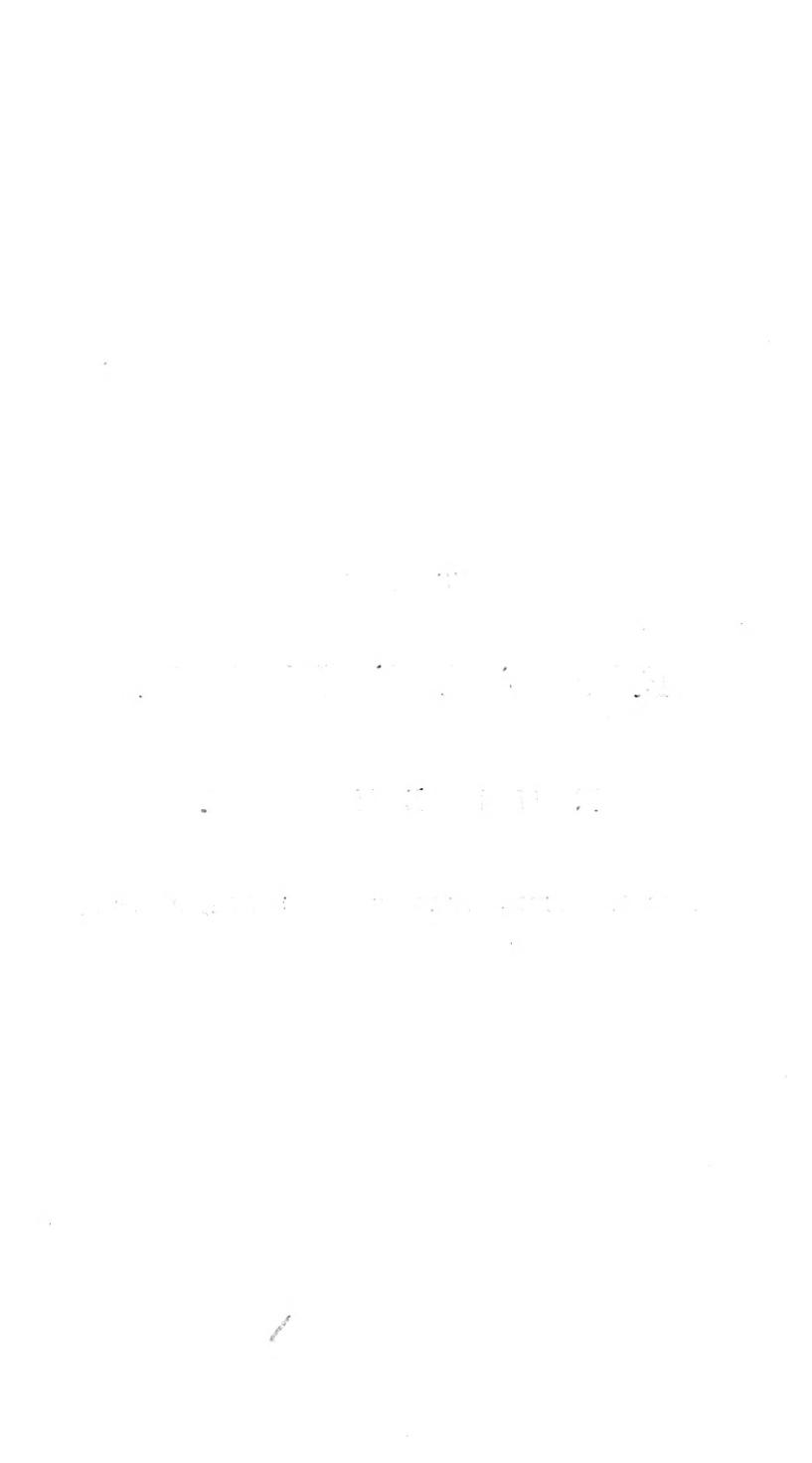
If the Petitioning Counties would call in their *paper credit*, as they have found it *too light* to be the *currency* of the Kingdom; and add to their former request an honest desire that the Parliament would administer impartial justice; that every man, whether he is a Teller in the Exchequer *which he never sees*, enjoys a pension *he never deserves*, receives tythes *without repeating a prayer*, (unless the prayer of a seditious Petition) or whether he stands in the happier situation of fortune, and wants not assistance from either, might bear a part of the State burthen proportioned to his strength: and for the honour of human nature, that the aged and diseased may be put upon the compassionate list, which ought to be hung up in every man's heart; and that the more liberal and equitable plan of an equal poors tax may be adopted, and that large and commodious workhouses may be erected in every county for the reception of all objects, whether
born

born in Cornwall or in Middlesex. If the Patriots would consider the public interest more, and indulge their personal resentment less, they would encounter no disagreeing opinions. No one would protest against their calling upon Ministers, as Gentlemen, or as the higher servants of the Public, to administer equal justice to that Public they are appointed to serve; Commerce would have less reason to complain; the Nation would be under no apprehension of ruin; and the People in general would be better reconciled to modern Patriotism. I shall say something more upon the wide plan of reformation in a future Essay.

T H E
R E F O R M E R.

N U M B E R IV.

BY AN INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDER OF HERTFORD.



T H E
R E F O R M E R.

N U M B E R I V.

Otium sine literis mora est, et hominis vivi sepultura. SEN. Epif.

AS I have taken the liberty to ascribe motives for the conduct of the present *Faction*; they will, in their turn, do me the honour to reciprocate the presumption, and set against my authorship certain inducements, which perhaps I have not the vanity to aspire to. If they should judge of me from their own feelings, the deduction, I am positive, will be wrong. I have no Drawing-room friendships to preserve; and cannot be supposed to hunt for game on Ministerial ground, without a deputation from Counties or Boroughs: and I do assure my Readers, that I am known in Parliament by my own Representatives only. And they (my Readers) will readily agree with me, that the spirit of these Essays is too futile and temporary, to have any compelling powers about them. Besides, I have no other accommodation than a plain, honest, unde-

undefigning affection for my Country, which has no chance with men of intention. A Minister must be cloathed in power ;—and if it was trimmed with righteousness, it would not be less becoming, though perhaps not quite in the fashion. Now, in the choice of this investment a Minister must look over a variety of patterns, which must necessarily confound him in his election ; and in that vitiated state of the mind, the bold and ostentatious colours will always obtrude and out glare the chaste and quiet tints. Men in Administration, like men of the *Ton*, are sooner caught by the forward blandishments of a prostitute, than by the unpretending blush of modesty. Neither have I the ambition to be pointed at as an Author : nay, I conceal my name, from the fear of being classed with neglected merit. It is true, I have but little cause for that sort of fear, as it is an honourable misfortune ; I lay no claim to it. But so inveterate are the popular party against literary men, that even blockheads, like myself, who scribble in favour of *that* Government which has *fortified* their cottage, cannot escape their fury. It is unpropitious to genius, that a man should become contemptible the instant he becomes an Author. The avenging hand of Party Malevolence, barbarous as the Goths and Vandals, picked out the *Board of Trade* as their first object of destruction, because so many ingenious men belonged to it ! Neither do I interest myself
in

in the profits that may arise from the sale of these trifles; for I am really and truly what I have subscribed myself, *An Independent Freeholder of Hertfordshire*, and one of the many who protested against the Petition from principle; from an abhorrence to every kind of imposition; and a dislike to men, who, in the trade of canvassing, force themselves into credit, by traducing and vilifying others in the same way of business. A shop-keeper has more honour and more integrity. For my part, I never trust such men; for the impostor who cheats me in one place will deceive me in the other, as certainly as the man who buys, will sell me: buying, selling, and over-reaching in both, is the spirit and genius of electioneering commerce. And I will add to the beforementioned assurances, that my fortune does not stand in need of any such extraneous assistance: and œconomy makes me too rich, and too saucy, to be deceived into the unwarrantable meanness of flattering the Minister out of his dignity, and myself out of credit with him. I look into the manners of men, and mortify myself exceedingly in contemplating my own species. I see with indignation and concern one-half of my fellow-citizens, like so many wanton school-boys, spoiling the sport of the other, only because the party being already made, they will not permit them to have any hand in the game. I then sit down, take up my pen and write, intentionally, for the information and

peace of mankind, and for the amusement of myself, to avoid being buried alive in that sepulchre which *Seneca* has allotted to those miserable *lunagers* who *fatigue* themselves to *death* from having *nothing* to do.

THE idea of Reformation has been inoculated upon my mind : I took the infection from Lord *SHELburne* ; and the humour began to shew itself in my third Essay : but as my matter is of a milder and less inflammable temper than that which is so puffed up by the *Empyricks* of *Yorkshire*, and so recommended by the advertising Doctors in *Middlesex*, I will be more liberal and scientific in the use of it. I despise all partial applications : I will not irritate a particular part, by tainting only one of the limbs of the State ; I will insert it into the vital system, that a favourable change may at once take place in the circulation of good manners, that the Constitution may be restored to health, and that Society in general may enjoy more peace and good-humour under the regimen which the condition of our nature has bound us to observe.

THE MEMBERS of the UPPER HOUSE are a refined set of Beings, so purified by the fountain of honour, that the Constitution considers them in a state of perfection* : they swear by their
own

* *Perfection*.]—Lord *SHELburne* attempted to bewray the honour of the Peerage, by insinuating that Lords when in
place

own essence ; and it is as binding in the law, as a frail Commoner's sacramental test. Their persons are sacred ; and *if it were not* for an execution now and then in their houses, and at the source of the River Tye *, we should suppose that Justices, awed by their apotheosis, dared not with legal familiarity touch the hem of their garment. As the Constitution has given the Peers of England such a celestial character, it is more *their* duty than *mine* to preserve the divinity of it : but an Englishman is fond of his constitutional privileges ; the freedom of speech he considers as the most valuable ; therefore, he cannot be silent when he thinks he can talk to the purpose ; and he never thinks unfavourably of his own understanding. It is from the like partiality that I now presume to offer my instructions to the Lords of Parliament ; and as there are spots in the sun, it cannot be thought illiberal in me to

place were not to be trusted. The Duke of RICHMOND was more unmannerly ; he insulted the Marquis of CARMARTHEN, by arraigning his Lordship for the want of integrity when Chamberlain to the Queen : but as the Marquis falsified the charge, it proved nothing against the character of the Peerage. But in the abstract, SHELBURNE and RICHMOND proved their own depravity ; for as both these Peers have been in office, it would be treason against the Majesty of the Lords to suppose, that a Member of the Upper House could speak otherwise than from his own feelings.

River Tye.] Bourn, in Norman-French *Berne*, signified a River. Thus *Tyburn* was the *River Tye*. *Holborn* was the *Old Bourn*.

suppose, that there *may be* blemishes in some of the stars which form a part of this political constellation : to such only I address my precepts.

Ye falling Angels, beware then of instructing plebeian minds by base and mischievous examples, lest you be devoured by curs of your own breaking, as your * Ancestors were in the year 1653.—Let your gratitude be seen in a due respect to the Crown, the sovereign power that created you. Avoid political suicide. To destroy the power of the Crown is a political *felo de se*, and the Republican would exult over your *dead body*, and would bury all your *splendid* honours in a *cross-way*. Above all, be dutiful to your Country. Manifest your *Nobility* in your *Politcness*. Let your *Integrity* be seen in the *smiles* of your *Tradesmen*; and your *Eloquence* be *heard* in the *songs* of the *Labourer*. But, my Lords, if you wish to die in your beds, be careful that you do not rub against the kibe of a Scotchman : perhaps

* *Ancestors.*] The first Authors of the public calamity were no more masters of their estates, than *they* were whom they had first spoiled; and themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds which they had caused to be erected for others : little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and those Lords, without whose monstrous assistance the Sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the People. CLARENDON,

he

he may have more nobility about him than you have. A North-Briton is the true patriotic Quixote ; he values his country more than he values his life ; and it is equally indifferent to him, whether he encounters the wind-mill at Pondicherry, Penobscot, Georgia, Omoa, or in Hyde-Park.

REFORMATION should begin at the source. Cleanse the fountain of its impurities, and the water will stream clear, and uncorrupted. The *Wittenagemot* of ancient times is now degraded into a Westminster Forum ! The Great Council of the Nation is become a *Censoriad*, where personal abuse is sublimed into argument, and freedom of debate into licentious invectives. The School for Wisdom and Politeness, how changed ! It is a political Bear-garden, where the Minister is transformed into a Monster, and his Ribbon into a *cordon bleu*, with which they tie him as it were to a stake, and bait him for the amusement of themselves and the Gallery, — Profligate — rude, and inimical to national œconomy ! Legislators violating Laws they are bound in justice to defend ! Gentlemen insulting the character they affect to appear in, a character which every other person holds himself obliged in honour to maintain ; and, what is most astonishing of all, unfriendly to their Country ! a disaffection which Nature reprobates ; for she invariably instructs every Patriot to preserve his Country at the hazard

zard of his life, and at the expence of his fortune. But the Patriot is only to be found in countries which are more immediately under the direction of Nature. A native of the Torrid Zone shews a manly submission to her precepts, and will refresh the scorching sands with an enemy's blood at the risque of adding his own, to preserve his property in the desert. The Norwegian will fight for his icy regions; and the inhabitants of Kamtschatka for their train-oil! Those contented people have not that luxurious abundance to pamper them with ingratitude; and not being sicken'd by satiety, they bless the soil that so parsimoniously deals out the scanty allowance.

A MAN of sentiment and feeling enters the HOUSE OF COMMONS with the same precautions about him as when he enters a powder-mill. He sits still in his place whilst the sparks of sedition are flying about him; and is fearful of offering his opinion, lest a flash of public virtue should light upon the combustible matter, and he should be blown up in some violent *dispflosion*. Notwithstanding the Faction are for laying open the freedom of debate, they have thrown every discouragement in the way of that valuable privilege, by monopolizing the freedom of speech; so that men of modest and quiet dispositions can derive no advantage from their Charter, as they are unequal to the horrid and shameful abuses practised by those outrageous and turbulent adventurers.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, which was once the seat of public virtue and of manly eloquence, appears now like a Pagan temple where every disorder of the mind was consecrated, and the most profligate men of *their* opinion were the chosen Gods of their idolatry. This populous sect were so devoted to sensuality, that they saw the supreme good only in supreme wickedness; and in this delirium they supposed, that perfection could only be found in such *Beings* who possessed the same irregular passions with themselves. Opinions as extravagant as these are adopted by the present Faction. WILKES and Fox are the *Termini* of the confederacy; they are the Guardian Angels to watch over the encroaching Ministers. These gentle spirits, having no property of their own, are to protect the property of others; having offered up their own liberty to the *Jews* in Duke's-Place, are to preserve the freedom of every *Christian* subject in the King of England's dominions! and to raise their fame to the top of the climax, like the Saviour of the Universe, they *will* go to Hell for the benefit of mankind: but I will not take upon me to fix the time they will stay there, as my Country has no interest in their return. What a perversion! Lord NORTH is the abandoned profligate; CHARLES Fox the honourable and worthy Friend! The intemperate side of the House, like the Cape of Circe, changes the qualities of all those who fall into it.

it. Admiral KEPPEL went plump on shore upon the *larboard* tack.

ADMIRAL KEPPEL, one of the *best-bearted* men in the Kingdom, obscured the settled brilliancy of his character, by placing it in the false glare of modern patriotism. Party pilfered his reputation of the honour which clung to it, that he might not be distinguished from the rest of them. For the same reason, the voice of Fame was drowned in the clamours of Popularity. Patriots, like spiders, are insects of a loathsome class; like them they draw a web from the depraved humours engendered in their own corrupted heads, and suspend it in the narrowest passies to catch every unwary fly that flutters near the diminished nook. KEPPEL, in a heedless flight, was caught in their devices. Mr. KEPPEL had the thanks of the Corporation of London; so had Alderman WILKES and Alderman LEE. If it was a *compliment* to *those* Gentlemen, Mr. KEPPEL must have been *disgraced* by it. If Mr. KEPPEL can believe the men he associates with, even the thanks of the *present* HOUSE OF COMMONS reflect no honour upon the person who receives them! Nay, the spirit of parties proves the position syllogistically true. For the Patriots, in their plain, vernacular language, call the Ministerial side of the House a very venal, corrupt set of people. The friends of Government and their Country,

with

with much reason, consider the Patriotick side of the House a very factious and profligate set of men. *Ergo*, the approbation of an Assembly of such a description can add no honour to the action it approves. Mr. KEPPEL has been a very gallant, a very active, and a very judicious Officer; and, what is equally to his honour, he is a very excellent man. The rectitude of his heart appeared very conspicuous in his defence of the brave Sir HUGH PALLISER. He had an ardent friendship for Sir HUGH (and friendships of that warmth between men in the same line of profession must be kindled from some great and good qualities in both) which softened the rigour of military justice, and prevailed on him to conceal Sir HUGH's disobedience, in a letter highly applauding every part of his conduct: his private affection pushed forward, and with irresistible force jostled from its proper seat the respect he owed the Public. And at the time when resentment would have stifled every emotion of regard in most other minds, Mr. KEPPEL, with a magnanimity equal to himself, declared in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, that he had no charge against Sir HUGH's *bravery*, which he considered as the most material part of a Seaman's duty. And I have not the least doubt, but if Mr. KEPPEL was now asked his opinion of Sir HUGH PALLISER, that he would, with his usual candour, pronounce him equal to the best Officer in the service; and, from his feelings for the honour of

the profession he was educated in, would wish to see him in the command of a squadron. It is an injury to the Nation, that a brave and experienced Officer should be worried from the service of his Country, only because he has passions in common with other men, and like many other men wants temper to correct the violent effusions of them. The HOUSE OF COMMONS furnishes from the Faction many of the same irregular dispositions.— TOMMY TOWNSHEND charged LORD NORTH with having sold his Country ! LUTTEREL charged the same honest man with most flagrant misdemeanors at Milborne Port ! SIR FLETCHER NORTON attacked him most furiously---for no-body can tell what. Other charges of the most alarming tendency are held forth every day against the same Minister ; and the contumacious accusers have not been able hitherto to prove one of the many they have so wantonly and so maliciously brought against him. And yet these men are not treated with contumely, and expelled the service they are appointed to.

GENERAL BURGOYNE is under the like fascination : his honour as a foldier was suspended, when he took those people by the hand, whom he ought to have pulled by the nose. When his account of crossing the Lakes, and storming Ticonderago, was copied into the Gazette ; how illiberally was the gallant General handled by the MINORITY ! They ridiculed the pomposity of his proclamation ;

they censured his want of politeness to *one* ARNOLD ; they reproached him for want of moderation in success ; they represented him a monster without sense, and without virtue ; and the action that conferred so much honour upon his gallantry and ardor, was explained by these men as the exploit of a savage. Every corner of the House was filled with the shrieks of the slaughtered Miss MACREA ; and every mouth was open to execrate the General who could bribe the Indians to leave their settlements for the infamous purpose of tomohawking and scalping the innocent Americans. He was styled the *Butcher of America*, and every opprobrious epithet that could fix disgrace upon the character of General BURGOYNE, as a soldier and a man, was most licentiously applied to him. When it was announced that he was overpowered by GATES, they exulted in his overthrow, and rejoiced at the mortifying state he was reduced to ; run over the old ground of wanton abuse, and with an implacability unparalleled in any other species of men, they condemned him to perpetual infamy and shame ; when Lord GEORGE GERMAINE, with a generosity unknown in the annals of Ministers, stood forth the champion of his honour ; entreated the House to suspend their judgment upon the General's conduct until they had heard his defence ; and if any delinquency was to be ascribed to the unsuccessful Campaign, begged they would level all their resentment against him. Generosity is a

splendid virtue, untarnished by patriotick approbation; for Generosity is not marshalled in the list of MINORITY virtues. The breath of PATRIOTISM, like an easterly wind in the spring, blights the forward fruits. BURGOYNE is nipped by the ungenial blast! Lord GEORGE is the object of the General's resentment—BURKE his beloved friend! These jarring elements (PATRIOTS despise natural order) are so wonderfully combined, that they are interchangeably polite to each other! The General now styles *one* ARNOLD, the *Hannibal* of the age; and GATES, the *Scipio Americanus*: and the MINORITY, to reconcile the *new recruit* to their service, compare *him* to the great, but unfortunate *Pompey*!

BURGOYNE is now a confirmed party-man: he gave his late publication to *Almon*, the herald of sedition; and in that *rescript* he has ninety-nine complaints against Lord GEORGE, from the same motive as the Spaniards: BURGOYNE is of the House of Derby, and he is engaged to maintain the *Family Compact*. BURGOYNE's apology presents to us a man of understanding, under some ungovernable influence; for there is more *good sense* in the *writing*, than *wisdom* in the *measure*. In this, as in other parts of his conduct, he appears to be a better Soldier than a Politician. His capitulation with GATES at Saratoga, was *manly* and spirited; the treaty he is now opening with his Constituents at Preston, and his enemies in

in Parliament, betrays a *want* of *vigour*, a *feebleness* of mind. He was *firm* and *inflexible* with GATES; he is *ductile* and *pliant* to the MINORITY. He was the *intrepid soldier* at Saratoga; he is the *obsequious patriot* at Preston. He was then acting *himself*; he is now rehearsing a *new character*!

GENERAL BURGOYNE always appeared to me to have more *spirit* than *discretion*. To face danger is gallantry; to retreat from it is judgement. BURGOYNE was in a *tactical* error when he despised the *retrograde* motion of an army. The excellency of a General is seen in a *retreat*, as well as in a *battle*; nay more, some adventitious circumstance may give a favourable turn to an engagement. Temerity will sometimes befriend a General. Every part of a General's conduct cannot be observed in the great clash and hurry of action; but a retreat well-conducted must be the pure effect of a calm, unembarrassed mind. The late DUKE of CUMBERLAND gained more honour in his retreat from Fontenoy, than he gained from attacking the French lines, or storming their redoubts.

GEN. BURGOYNE will be an acquisition to the MINORITY, for he has an excellent knack at designing and colouring. Colonel FRAZER's funeral is a master-piece of the kind; it is a *Rembrandt* in his deepest shadow; the *nigra formidine* of the woods in the back-ground, is most sublimely pencilled; his mind at that time was finely adapted
to

to the horrors. But if I had been the commanding Officer, with such a field of artillery as BURGOYNE then had, I would have *thrown* some *flashes of light* on the *edge* of the *picture*. I would not have stood the mute spectator of such a sad and melancholy scene. I would have ordered my field-pieces forward, and solemnized the General's funeral with a full discharge upon the enemy, and sacrificed some hundreds of them to the manes of the gallant FRAZER.

THE General has also favoured us with a beautiful picture of Lady ACKLAND, in the chaste style of *Corregio*.---I thank him for it: it pleases me to the very soul, to find in these libidinous times that we have a female of such extraordinary virtue left among us. Her Ladyship possesses affections so conjugal, they seem peculiarly her own. This amiable Lady should be placed foremost in the great picture of Human Existence, as an example to the sex, that Ladies of Fashion in particular may improve themselves by studying the manner of this accomplished original.

As a Party-man, BURGOYNE's designs may lie deeper than the surface. In the first picture, he may be wooing the Harlot POPULARITY; in the second, he may be paying his addressee to every Lady of virtue in the kingdom. I will give no caution to POPULARITY, for *Prostitutes* are to make the *most* of their *trade*; but I will advise
Ladies

Ladies of virtue, under *forty*, to consult their own *necessities*; for a PATRIOT of *threescore* has more *Art* than *Nature* about him.

LET us now pursue the idea of reformation. To restore the Parliament of England to its ancient health and spirit, remains with the People without doors, in the first digestion. The HOUSE OF COMMONS, like a National Conservatory, should be stored with the choicest variety of the richest fruits; and those people who furnish the plants, should send only such as are clean and upright: no adhesive qualities; for where the moss sticks, the plant is corrupted. They should be careful to chuse *indigenous* stocks, and see that sound wood has been engrafted upon them. A canker'd tree may be full of bloom, look lively, and *promise* a great deal; but believe me, very little good fruit should be expected from it. To drop the allegory, let every Freeholder and Freeman throughout England contemplate his own permanent dignity, and not give up his perpetual consequence to a compromise of one day in every seven years. A Freeholder, a Freeman, or any other Citizen who sends a Member to Parliament, is a respectable character in the Constitution of this Country, and I hope they will be ever represented by men of wisdom and virtue; who will think it their duty to consult them upon every emergency, and treat them upon every occasion, as men too worthy to be imposed upon by false and sinister representations; who will respect them

as confidential friends, and not play upon them as instruments. Fellow-Citizens, let such men only be the object of your future choice.

THE Representatives of a generous and free People should be qualified with something more than a stipulated fortune ; they should possess private, as well as publick virtue : a man cannot be in real political credit, who is not in actual possession of both. Private Virtue is the most *substantial* security : Public Virtue is volatile and variously defined, and, like paper currency, is subject to forgery and imposition. Analyze therefore the character of the Candidate who solicits your suffrage by drenching your ears with potions of pernicious nonsense. I say, analyze such men with the same attention as you ought to analyze Maredant's Drops, or any other quack medicine you swallow at the mouth. They each of them impose upon you in the same language : one promises to cure every disorder in the body ; the other to eradicate every evil in the State. Beware of both, for they waste all their liberality in their promises.

HAS your Candidate a real estate ?—The spirited beggar can have no interest in the Commonwealth ; the Constitution is no friend to him ; and the law puts him under uncomfortable restraints. He is loud in the uproar for liberty, because he feels the want of it. He sees relief in
anarchy

anarchy and confusion : a civil war is the only harvest he can reap advantage from, and he endeavours to promote it.

Does he hold his estate independent of Mortgages and Judgment Creditors? for influence of every sort cramps the freedom of elections. The avaricious Peer who lends money, has a more fearful influence than the Marquis of ROCKINGHAM, who gives it away ; but the mischief is the same ; and the integrity of opinion in Parliamentary debate, and the honest choice at elections are equally lost in the *dread* of one, or in the *obligation* to the other ; the *purse* or the *execution* have each of them an argument to favour their respective influences. These are the gentler notes of truth, which are drowned in factious declamation. We hear of nothing but the Influence of the Crown ; every heedless Politician joins in the hue and cry against the baneful Influence of the Crown ; but ask them where it is felt, and the *loudest* of them cannot resolve the question. Is it felt from the Crown Pensioners ? No ; those insatiable Drones are at variance with the Bees, because they have expelled them the hive.---Is it felt from sinecure Placemen ? No ; MANCHESTER, TEMPLE, &c. are violent enemies to Government.---Is it felt from the Land or Naval Officers ? From neither ; for many of these *fighting* heroes divide with the MINORITY. Private Pensioners and private Placemen have more gratitude. BURKE,

BARRE, and FOX, are as faithful to their commanding Officers, as the reverberation of an echo; every Motion made by RICHMOND, ROCKINGHAM, or SHELBURNE, in one House, is repeated in the other. There is no sporting with such *imperial* influence; but you may take what liberties you please with the Crown. Slighted Politicians have been the same in all * Administrations; they invariably treat their Prince with ill-manners, and his Friends with contempt! Yet, wonderful to tell, under a King so despotic as our present Sovereign is described to be, such men are suffered to escape without punishment or censure! Influence must be very weak that dares not punish the miscreants who attempt to lay violent hands upon it. If the People are obstinately bent to believe that the Crown has *such* an influence, by what they *hear only* from one set of men, I shall want no other evidence to convince me, that the Insolence of Party has a more dangerous influence than the Crown.

LORD ———, I will conceal his name, as I esteem his father—at the Aylesbury Meeting,

* *Administrations.*]—Excepting Mr. PITT's. That spirited Minister terrified Opposition into civility and acquiescence: no one dared to oppose his opinion. And when Lord GOWER recovered from his stupor, and reminded his Brother Counsellors that they had opinions as well as the Secretary of State, Mr. PITT reprobated his Lordship's presumption,—threw up the Seals, and never went near them afterwards.

after

after much political nonsense, told the Mob which surrounded him, that "Buckinghamshire was
 " respectable from having produced an Hamp-
 " den, who brought a King to the Block," &c. and in the same breath told the gaping Countrymen, "that they were all in danger of being
 " enslaved by the tyranny of the most despotic
 " Prince," &c. What insolence! for any man to dare to insult the understanding of a County! The declaration falsified itself. Many blessed themselves that they lived under a Government where *Slaves* could talk so *freely*. Others compared his Lordship to a perjured witness, who ruined the cause he was hired to defend, by saying too much. A few, bolder than the rest, whispered, that if his Lordship lived under the Government he was describing, he would be deservedly hanged in four-and-twenty hours; and if there had been one man present with the spirit and integrity of an Hampden, he would have impeached his Lordship in the face of the County, for want of candour and integrity. To *impose* upon the *understanding* of men, is a * *poll tax* that the hardiest Minister of the Crown dare not lay upon the People.

* *Poll-tax.*]—Old Dennis says, "The Man who will *pun* will pick pockets." If I am to be tried by his law, I will plead in my defence, that picking of pockets is the trade of idleness; and my *pun* was the effect of real intellectual want.

To gloss over the popular deception, *influence*, these impostors ask, Do not Ministers carry every measure?—What does this prove? If we examine and try the question with candour, we must conclude that Government is right: for if our judgement, in a matter we can know but little about, is to be decided by a majority of voices, and I know of no other, or at least no better criterion to judge by, it must certainly prove the rectitude of the measure, and make in favour of the Minister who adopted it. But say they, “The Majority in the House of Commons are “impelled by *purchase*, or otherwise.” And are not the MINORITY under the same predicament? FOX has a RICHMOND for his noble and *convenient* Kinsman: BURKE and BARRE have their ROCKINGHAM and SHELBURNE for their Right Honourable and *convenient* Friends: LUTTEREL’s Sister, though worthy her exalted rank, is not recognized at Court; and so on. *Expediency* or connexion biasses the judgement of the best of them. Clamorous men will talk loud of disinterested virtue; yet like mites, if they can creep into a cheese, they never enquire whom it belongs to.

My mind is too free to bend to influence of any sort; and that others may be as independent as myself, I will take another view of this Bugbear, *Crown Influence*.—The Ministers say, that *England* is a very opulent and a very respectable Country,

a na-

a nation of Heroes; that the Parliament is the Supreme Council, and the King the Supreme Magistrate; and all the friends to Government support them in that opinion. Lord ROCKINGHAM says that *England* is a beggarly, forsaken country, a nation of slaves and traitors:—that the Parliament is no more to compare to County Committees than the King to Parson WYVILL; and every dependent upon the Faction support him in that opinion. The links of the two chains hang together in the same precise manner, to fetter the judgement of each party. The same patronage is here seen domineering in the minds of these feudal Lords over their Vassals, which those Lords, and consequently their Vassals, argue so much against in the Ministers; and Mr. BURKE's violent attack upon his Majesty's *Turnspit*, arises apparently from the *Licksplits* to the before-mentioned Noblemen being Members of Parliament. My judgement, like an *English* man of war, will strike only to a majority:—the late *majority* on Mr. DUNNING's Motion convinces me, that he and his friends were not in the MINORITY, consequently that the Faction has more influence than the Ministers. It was from the majority of voices in favour of WILKES, that I was much inclined to vote the out-law the Representative for *Middlesex*, in the first election, notwithstanding the *steady* CHARLES FOX (at that time the Minister's man) spoke so vehemently against it,
and

and the Ministry had the Law* to give a sanction to their decision.

LET me advise you, Fellow-Citizens, to determine for yourselves: try the argument in your own minds. I will prepare you for the examination by some significant questions. When the County of *Middlesex* chuses such a man as Mr. WILKES, and the City of *Westminster* such a man as Mr. Fox, for their Representatives in Parliament, can you suppose that *Virtue* directs them in the choice? What is your opinion of Freeholders or Citizens who will trust men with their Liberties, whom they will not trust with a shoulder of mutton? *The influence that governs in these cases must be of the baneful kind.* Does not the Landlord who doubles the rents of his farms for his own *private emolument*, lay a more oppressive tax upon Industry, than the duties imposed by the Crown for the *security and advantage* of the *Public*? Are not the promoters of the War the cause

* *Law.*] The Attorney-General, and Mr. DUNNING the Solicitor-General (one was puzzled and the other infected), consulted Sir FLETCHER NORTON what was to be done. Sir FLETCHER told them with manly freedom, that they were ignorant of their duty: that if *he* had been Attorney-General, he would have followed WILKES into the City, and dragged him from the Hustings: if he had missed of him there, he would have pursued him to *Brentford*: for in honour to the Laws of his Country, he could not have suffered the man to be invested with legislative authority, who was not under the protection of the Law.

of

of all our distreffes? And do not those men who describe this *inexhaustible* country as in a state of *bankruptcy*—who pronounce our Admirals old women, our Generals unskilful, our Ministers ideots, and our Sovereign a tyrant, patronise Rebellion? Must not such declarations give vain hopes to our enemies, and encourage them to continue the war? Try this last question by your own feeling. If the *Athleta* who challenged you to the *pugna-cium*, was described to you as having only one arm, would you not encounter him with less apprehension, and a greater certainty of success? Undoubtedly, therefore, those men who debase the credit of this country by their perpetual lamentations, are the cause of all our troubles, and are traitors to the Majesty of the People, by distrusting their magnanimity. Let not men so degenerated represent you in Parliament:—they canvass under the unfurled banner of Liberty; but believe me, they are not the *patroni* of universal freedom; they wish to destroy the influence of the Crown, that they may have the influence to enslave you. Such men are in alliance with our most unfaithful enemies; friends to discord, and auxiliaries in the destruction of this Empire.

If the Freeholders of *Buckinghamshire* should hear that LORD SHELBURNE, LORD TEMPLE, LORD MAHON, and ALMON the Bookseller are alive, and walk at large, and afterwards should believe what those Lords have openly asserted, and ALMON
printed;

printed; every free and candid man must conclude, that these violent Lords have more influence than the Crown; and ALMON, their *stoker*, more influence than any Minister under the Crown.

Is your Candidate a Gamester?—Recollect that Gaming is the offspring of the most ungenerous affections: his highest pleasure is to distress his friends; and when the Dice are against him, he will submit to the basest and most unwarrantable concessions, for an immediate supply of money, to try his fortune at another cast!—The late Lord CHESTERFIELD, when under the infatuation of Gaming, was heard to say, that if he was in possession of all the world, he would give part of it to some scoundrel, that he might have a stake to play for.—Be not represented by a Gamester!

Is your Candidate a Spendthrift?—The Robber is to be found in other Courts of Justice, besides the *Old Bailey*: they are the honestest rogues who are tried for their lives. The assumed Gentleman who squanders away his fortune, and puts off the settlement of his debts to the day of Judgment, is a more dangerous villain in Society, than the desperate fellow who stops you upon the highway. The spirit of trade does not allow of such long credit: even the Undertaker (one of the *Westminster* Committee) who gets his living by the *end of man*, will not trust to the *end of time* for the payment

ment of his *last day's* bills: neither has the Methodist China-man (another of the Committee) any opinion of, or hope in, Resurrection-settlements. The unprincipled Gentleman conceals his designs, and robs you of hundreds, under the mask of friendship:—the crape covering reveals at first sight the intention of the highwayman, and you are prepared to give him the five shillings, or five pounds, the largest sum, I am certain, that any of my prudent Readers would chuse to travel with. —Borrow wisdom from the Athenians, and suffer not the Spendthrift* to have a seat in your great National Council.

Is your Candidate a Coward?—Turn from the ill-omened wretch with the indignation he deserves. He will appal you with dangers that never existed, he will anticipate defeats that have never happened, and the taking of Islands which are tenable against the united efforts of *France* and *Spain*. He will magnify our enemies power, and lessen the force of his native country: he will prophesy the ruin of Old *England*. Let your choice be directed to the Man of Fortitude, who,

* *Spendthrift*] At *Rome* the Spendthrift was held in such abhorrence, that he was not allowed to pollute the dust of his worthier ancestors:—he was buried with the common vagrants, at a place chosen for that purpose in the *Ejquilia*, called the *Puticuli*.—There was also a Temple in *Thebes*, which had one of its pillars inscribed with horrid imprecations against the man who first introduced profusion and luxury into *Egypt*.

confiding in the native bravery of his Countrymen, is armed againſt the approaches of the moſt formidable enemy ; who will maintain the dignity of our national character by his firmneſs, and defend it with a generous and manly ſpirit to the laſt ſhilling of his fortune, and the laſt drop of his blood ; who will honour your confidence by a due obſervance of the laws he has made ; and ſecure peace and happineſs to his fellow-citizens, by a vigilant and impartial attention to the diſtinct prerogatives of the three Eſtates.

I HAVE no other view in theſe inſtructions, but to advance the People to a more reſpectable rank, and to reſtore the Houſe of Representatives to its ancient dignity ; for it hurts me to behold my fellow-citizens played upon, as creatures without ſenſe ; and to ſee the Parliament of *England* diſhonoured by unqualified perſons holding a ſeat therein.

THE People of *England* are the *nervous papilla* of the political ſtamina, and, if treated properly, will produce the moſt delightful ſenſations, and excite a natural vigor for the moſt ſocial purpoſes : but we have a ſet of vicious men at this time, who, not having thoſe affections which are implanted in our conſtitutions, rub and irritate thoſe ſenſitive points ; and in gratifying their own baſe and ſolitary paſſion, inflame, mortify and deſtroy the parts which were deſigned at the political arrangement

arrangement of Society to communicate health and pleasure to the whole body.

THE second operation should take place with the Ministers (the ventricle where the *pabulum* of the State is first fermented). They should prevent improper aliment being forced into that part of the Constitution from whence the blood circulates, and where the nourishment of the whole is formed. Before the meeting of the next Parliament, it will be very necessary to get a law passed to disqualify improper persons; for as many, from want of virtue, accommodate themselves to the phrenzy of some Corporations, the patriotic fury in such places may return them.

If any man should *lose* or *win* by play, betting, or any other voluntary mode, the sum of *fifty* pounds, or upwards, at what is called a *sitting*, or within four-and-twenty hours, such person to be expelled the House, and rendered for ever incapable of holding a seat therein.

No man qualified to sit in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, but who possesses and *enjoys* a real estate in his own right, or in the right of his wife. Assignments of estates, with the fraudulent view

to qualify men who have none of their own, to be considered by the law as a free-gift; and to be recovered by the person to whom it is assigned, or by his heirs or executors after his decease, notwithstanding indemnifications or defeasances may be produced against it. It may be considered as contracting for a man's vote in Parliament, and such Contractors ought to be discouraged.

ALL Contractors who betray the people, by enriching themselves with Parliamentary interest by the practice before-mentioned; as well as those Contractors who have abused, or may hereafter abuse the confidence placed in them by Ministers, and who have injured the Public by any unwarrantable negotiation; such as taking a Commanding Officer or a Minister's Secretary into partnership, or by any other sinister mode of proceeding; to be expelled the House, and rendered incapable of ever sitting there.

If one Member criminales another, he is to specify his charge, and prove it. If the charge cannot be substantiated, and the accusation appears to be founded upon mistake, the delinquent to be censured, and fined one hundred pounds to the State: — if founded upon malevolence, to be expelled.

FREEDOM

FREEDOM of debate to be allowed in its full ardour; but the licentiousness of speech to be discountenanced, as rude and unavailing. If an argument requires personal investive to give it force, there can be no truth in the substance of it; and Truth should be the essence of an English Parliament. The HOUSE OF COMMONS should be a *Temple* sacred to *Truth* and *Good-manners*; and whoever prophaned it, by departing from either, should be censured, and fined one hundred pounds to the uses of the State.

PENSIONERS upon Government, or upon men of private fortune, however qualified by nominal appointments, not to be allowed a seat in Parliament, excepting those noble Pensioners who are or may be honoured by Parliament with the approbation of the People, for some important service or extraordinary virtue.

If these well-intended hints should recover the understanding which the People of this Country have given up; restore them to a sense of the duty they owe themselves; and instruct them to think with philosophical propriety; I shall feel myself the happiest man in the Kingdom. But to think right is the difficulty; and I will shew
you

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